

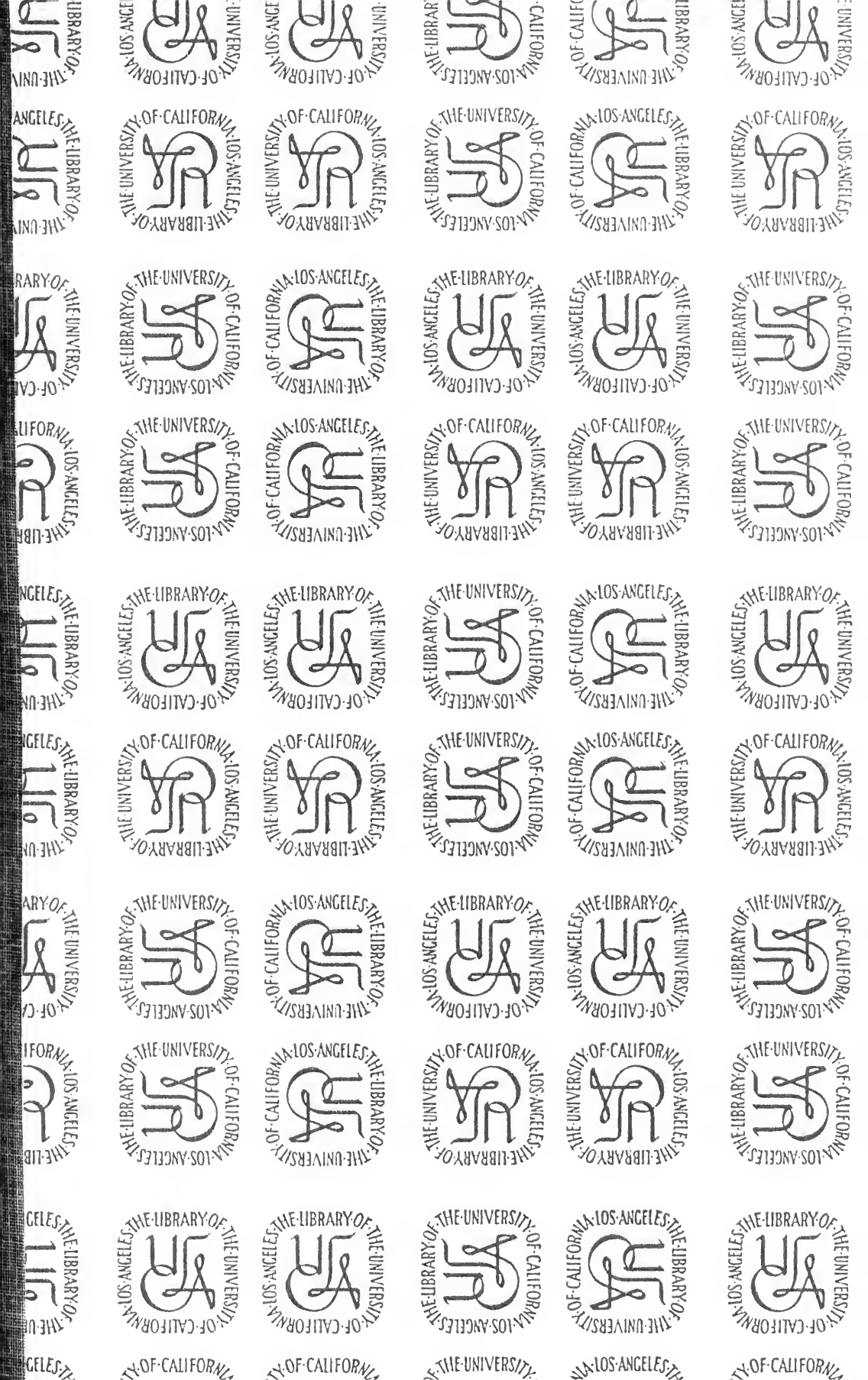
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Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Publication No. 6

GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALISM IN JAPAN

Report to the Trustees of the Endowment

BY

T. MIYAOKA

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE DIVISION

PUBLISHED BY THE ENDOWMENT
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Preface

In the report which Mr. Miyaoka has submitted on his work as special correspondent at Tokio since he entered upon his duties on January 1, 1912, there is ample evidence of the practical value which attaches to the carefully arranged visits of such distinguished Americans as have recently gone to Japan under the auspices of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Mr. Miyaoka makes it plain that Americans like Dr. Eliot, Mr. Mabie, and others, who are suitably presented to the Government and people of Japan and whose coming is carefully arranged for, have accomplished and can accomplish much that is of real and practical value for the development of a sentiment in favor of international peace and the judicial settlement of international differences. The foundation of that respect which one civilized nation should have for another is laid in the knowledge, and therefore in the appreciation, which the people of one nation have of another. This knowledge is not something to be gained from books alone, or from those casual acquaintanceships which are the usual and frequent accompaniment of trade and commerce. It must come rather from a genuine interpenetration of the thought and civilization of one people by the thought and civilization of another. This interpenetration is, perhaps, most easily and effectively accomplished by the international visits of eminent men whose personality and repute at home give them quite as much weight, and perhaps more, in the country which they visit than do their spoken words while there.

Mr. Miyaoka has devoted himself with singular fidelity and unselfishness to a task which has not been easy and in which he has been granted but little repose. The Division of Intercourse and Education feels under peculiar obligation to him for the frequency and the accuracy of his reports and communications, as well as for all the personal service that he has so generously rendered to Americans who have gone to Japan with letters of introduction to him.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
Acting Director.

April 8, 1915.



GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALISM IN JAPAN

Report of Mr. Miyaoka

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE:

My appointment as the Special Correspondent at Tokio of the Division of Intercourse and Education was decided upon at your annual meeting of December 14, 1911, and took effect from January 1, 1912.

Since then I have kept myself fairly busy sending reports from time to time to the acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education on those current events that appeared to me to be worthy of his attention as well as that of your Executive Committee. On two occasions, November 1, 1912, and October 24, 1913, in pursuance of the standing instructions of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, I addressed him the so-called annual reports. These reports were intended as a sort of a mental balance sheet in which the manifestations of the activities of your Endowment in this country were summed up in what the French would call *coup d'œil*.

A report prepared with such an end in view has its uses, but is necessarily too dry to be an object of interesting perusal. Early in 1914 the annual report of my colleague of Berlin, Professor Dr. Wilhelm Paszkowski, written for the year 1913, was published by the Endowment as Publication No. 2. The learned Professor with his true literary instinct has freely gone beyond the borders of the activities of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and has presented us with a splendid bird's eye view of the unfolding in Germany in 1913 of that great human movement which Dr. Butler in his opening address at Lake Mohonk Conference on May 22, 1907, aptly termed "Internationalism."

Dr. Hamilton Wright Mabie on delivering a discourse in the George Dana Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics, before the University of Pennsylvania on March 12, 1914, adopted as the title of his lecture the significant words "Ethics and the Larger Neighborhood." The "Larger Neighborhood" of Mabie is identical with the "Internationalism" of Butler. It is the rise of human conscience from a lower to a higher plane. Human conscience starting from the narrow confines of self-interest or the welfare of a family has grown upwards through successive stages and is attaining a higher and higher level. Primeval man cared for nothing but his own interest. His sense of interest grew. He

learned to care for and look after the welfare of his family and the community. The love of community grew into patriotism, and mankind is now on the threshold of discovering the truth that his welfare as well as the welfare of his country can not be promoted without safeguarding the interest of the world. The awakening of the human conscience to this broader horizon is the awakening of what Dr. Butler calls "the International Mind."

The growth of "Internationalism" can be traced in a way through a series of dates on which some of the important international conventions were signed. The Declaration of Paris to regulate some of the points of maritime law was signed on April 16, 1856. The year 1864 marks the conclusion of the Geneva Convention of the Red Cross. The metric convention was signed on May 20, 1875; the International Telegraphic convention on July 22, 1875; the International convention for the Protection of Industrial Property in March, 1883; the International convention for the Protection of Marine Cables in 1884; the International convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Property in 1886. It is unnecessary to go through these dates any farther. The international compacts which grew out of the First and the Second Peace Conferences at The Hague, are matters of common knowledge. Dr. Butler was undoubtedly right when in 1907 he declared that "Unless all signs fail, we are entering upon a period which may be described fittingly as one of internationalism." The great European or rather the World's War which has been raging since August 1, 1914, does not in any way detract from the truth of this assertion. On the contrary, we have every reason to believe that the chains of Internationalism are being forged in a volcanic furnace of gigantic dimensions. When the war is over, no matter which side wins or whether or not it ends in a drawn battle, the final outcome of it all will be that humanity will emerge from this terrible experience with a stronger consciousness of the solidarity of human interests. Humanity will find that this war, instead of retarding, has accelerated by centuries the growth of real internationalism.

The object of my present report is to present to the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment a summary of the growth of internationalism in Japan since June 30, 1913, the date on which my account of events closed in the report submitted October 24, 1913. For the reasons already referred to, however, an annual report which strictly commences on July 1, 1913, and terminates either on June 30 or December 31, 1914, would be found to be unsatisfactory. It would lack the necessary historic background.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, had visited Japan and returned to America. The result of his journey to this part of the world was his report entitled *Some Roads Towards Peace*, published by the Endowment. Dr. Hamilton Wright Mabie came and returned. He had not only given us a better insight into American ideals, character and life, but made a permanent

contribution to the culture of English speaking races by publishing his lectures delivered in Japan, and by his interpretation of this country, past, present and future. Indeed, Japanese culture, ethics and faith have taken this gentle observer into their confidence, for in Dr. Mabie's writings the spirit of Japan moves.

Dr. Francis G. Peabody of Cambridge, Massachusetts, came and added a great stimulus to the work of the Association Concordia. Hon. William D. B. Ainey, member of the United States House of Representatives, on his way to the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union at Stockholm last summer, stopped over in this country and contributed his share toward the better understanding of America in Japan. Dr. Shailer Mathews, Professor of Theology in the University of Chicago and the President of the Federal Council of Churches in America, is now visiting Japan together with Dr. Sydney L. Gulick, Professor in the Doshisha University of Kyoto, giving to the people of this country a splendid interpretation of America, her problems and aspirations. So similarly a number of important visits from this country to the United States have taken place; but what do all the activities of these men mean in the perspective of time? It would be interesting in a way to follow President Eliot, Dr. Mabie, Dr. Peabody, Mr. Ainey, Dr. Mathews or Dr. Gulick on their journeys and into the universities, the public lecture halls, clubs, and official banquets; but no conclusions can be drawn from their activities unless we place them properly on the chess-board of time. The internationalism of Japan as it develops can be traced in the acts of the Government, in the social development of the country and of her people abroad, in the acts of individuals at home and of those sojourning in foreign countries. However, in an attempt to go into the details of the forests, ravines and dales, the general topography of the country would be lost sight of. Whatever I may write for annual reports in future years, it seems to me that I can not do better in this instance than to present a synthetic survey of the manner in which the insular spirit has given way to internationalism in this country.

The Japanese people were not originally of the insular disposition of mind. Japanese ships were freely engaged in transmaritime commerce three centuries ago. It was the government of the Tokugawa Shoguns that adopted the policy of seclusion for reasons of domestic politics. That this policy was not in harmony with the genius of the people is proved by the fact that men like the late Prince Ito, the then plain Ito Shunsuke, or the Marquis Inouye, the then plain Inouye Bunta, and a number of others, took passage to Europe on sailing vessels as ordinary seamen, in violation of the laws of the time, which prescribed capital punishment for those who went out of the realm without the permission of the Government. This revolt against the policy of self-sufficiency at home is not merely characteristic of the few great men who appeared at the time. The spirit of adventure, hardihood and philosophic acceptance of the chances

of life, is a part of the Japanese character high and low. A sportive Englishman traveling on the shores of the Inland Sea of Japan once asked a fisherman's boy whether the latter ever went to Kobe in the little boat he was sailing. The fellow affirmed that he had tried it once. On the Englishman observing that the boat would not stand a squall, the boy proudly replied that the boat of course capsized, but then he did not mind as he would set it right again and jump in.

A sea-faring people made of such stuff can not be bottled up in a few scattered islands. Internationalism is a part of their inborn nature. After some two hundred and fifty years of enforced seclusion, the spirit of free intercourse and expansion came to re-assert itself, in spite of the policies of the Government. When the late Emperor Meiji, upon accession to the throne in 1868, took an oath consisting of five articles, one of which was that "wisdom shall be sought in all parts of the world," he only gave Imperial sanction to the spirit of the times. The modern internationalism of Japan was not a new seed sown in a soil where it did not exist before. It was simply the revival of the spirit which the rigor of feudal militarism had in vain attempted to smother.

The political international relations of modern Japan were inaugurated when the Treaty of Peace and Amity between Japan and the United States was signed at Kanagawa by Matthew Calbraith Perry with the representatives of the Tokugawa Government on March 31, 1854. Prior to that date, the Dutch had an arrangement with Japan, under which they were permitted to trade at Dejima, Nagasaki; but that fact in itself did not pave the way to the opening of Japan's diplomatic and commercial intercourse with other nations of the world.

In the beginning of Japan's foreign intercourse, the points of contact between Japanese people and foreign nations were first business relations between merchants of the respective countries, and between the diplomatic and consular officers of the Powers and the officials of the Japanese Government. There was none of that social intercourse which is characteristic of diplomatic life in all the capitals of the world.

Until about 1880 the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs did not entertain foreign diplomatic representatives in a social way, and he was seldom a guest of honor at foreign legations. It took many years before other members of the cabinet thought of entertaining foreign representatives or were asked to dine with them. Until well toward the close of the nineteenth century, social intercourse on any elegant scale between the leaders of Japanese social life, other than those connected with the Government and the representatives of foreign Governments, was almost unheard of.

There have been some associations of foreigners interested in Japanese affairs which were formed in the early days of Japan's foreign relations, such as the Asiatic Society, established about 1874, which included the scholarly

element of resident foreigners, and the American Asiatic Association of Yokohama and Kobe, which is a society of American business men. The Asiatic Society included some Japanese members, but they were extremely few.

In 1895 the Japan Society was formed in London for the social intercourse of Japanese and Britishers and for the better understanding of Japan's history, institutions, literature, customs, and affairs generally on the part of the people of Great Britain. In 1907 its Japanese counterpart, called the British Society, was organized in Tokio for the social intercourse between Englishmen and Japanese, and for the better understanding of Great Britain, her people and Empire, on the part of the Japanese people. With a similar object in view, the Japan Society of New York was founded in 1907, while its counterpart in Tokio, the Advisory Council of the Japan Society of New York, was organized in 1910. It contains on its membership roll practically the names of all the prominent officials of important banks, shipping interests, insurance companies and the largest exporters and importers,—in a word, representatives of all the important business interests of Tokio.

In the meantime, in some cases even antedating the formation of the Japan Society in London, there have been established in Tokio the Deutsche Gesellschaft, the America's Friends Association, the Japan-French Society, the Japan-Russian Society, the Italian Society, and in Brussels the Japan-Belgian Society, the objects in each case being akin to those of the Japan Society of London and of New York. Many of them have the privilege of carrying on the membership roll the names of one or another of the Princes of Imperial blood as patrons or honorary presidents. The Ambassadors or Envoys of the countries concerned or the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, are elected as presidents. Among the members are found not only the civil officials of the Government and the officers of the Army and the Navy, but professors, bankers, editors of important papers and periodicals, and business men in all the pursuits of life. In fact, men of consequence and of ideas freely mingle in these associations and are brought into close touch with the foreign residents of the particular nationality whose interest the respective societies seek to promote. Today a dinner given by the American Ambassador in Tokio in honor of President Eliot, Dr. Mabie, Representative Ainey or Dr. Mathews, would not be complete unless the list of invited guests included, besides the officials of the Government, the representatives of the banking and commercial interests and men prominent for their scientific researches or other scholarly attainments. This phenomenon is partly accounted for by the fact that in old Japan society was piled up in tiers, as dolls are arranged at girls' festivals on March 3, so fittingly described by Dr. Mabie in his *Japan Today and Tomorrow*. There were the Emperor and the Empress at the top with the members of the Imperial family just below them. Next came the Ministers of State, the court dignitaries and other officials of the Gov-

ernment, the Daimios and their retainers, followed by the yeomen farmers, the peasants, the mechanics and artisans, and last of all, the merchants. Today some of the best talents and the broadest minds of the Empire go into mercantile or professional pursuits, and this obsolete artificial *l'ordre de préséance* is no longer a just criterion of the social order. There was a time in Japan when presidents of great banks or the proprietors of great commercial houses had to be placed at a dinner table next after the lieutenants in the Army or the Navy, as is still the custom in some of the ultra-militaristic countries of Europe. Today this has been completely changed in Japan. Such a monstrous notion would no longer be tolerated. The social center of gravity no longer resides where high sounding titles are carried, but rests where there is the real social dynamic force. As stated, the change of the list of the dinner guests at Embassies and official residences of the Ministers of State is partly explained by the social evolution which has been quietly going on in this country since 1868. On the other hand, this social democratization of Japan has brought about a complete change in the international relations of the Japanese people. Here is to be found the key to the growth of real internationalism in Japan.

In the beginning international relations were entirely in the hands of the Government officials, and people outside Government circles had nothing to do with them, either politically or socially. Today, while the political adjustment of international affairs is intrusted to the properly constituted diplomatic service, the press and the people are active social forces, molding the international relations of Japan. Herein lies the real danger of the future development of such questions as the one that is known as the "Japanese-American question" in this country and the "Japanese question" in America. The trained diplomats with their official restraint, and the political leaders commanding a broad vision of the trend of human affairs, do not form any element of danger; but the press may under given conditions become unmanageable. The force that shapes the future course of events is the people. The development of real internationalism in Japan at this critical period in the history of her international relations augurs well for the prosperity of the Empire and the peace of the Pacific.

It will be interesting to take a brief retrospect of the course of events in what is commonly known as the American-Japanese question. By a curious coincidence an earthquake of a degree of violence unknown in the history of California visited San Francisco and other cities of the Pacific coast line in the summer of 1906, and at the same time gave a humiliating shock to the *amour propre* of the Japanese people. The latter event would have happened anyhow in the natural sequence of the development of human history; but the part which that earthquake played in the unfolding of the real difficulty involved was most curious. By that earthquake the public school houses of the city of San Francisco were demolished. Some arrangements had to be provided for the recep-

tion of school children, before their education could be resumed. In this confusion of affairs the labor element of the city succeeded in inviting the attention alike of the Federal Government of the United States and of the Imperial Government of Japan to the undesirability of permitting immigration of wage earners from Japan into the United States. They started an agitation for the segregation of Japanese school children in San Francisco. The school board resolved that no Japanese children of school age should be permitted to attend the public schools with the children of American parents and of other nationalities, but that they should be taught in a separate school house. Apart from the practical inconvenience attaching to such an arrangement, for instance, as the distance to the proposed school house, the stigma of inferiority inseparable from the idea of segregation was bitterly resented by the Japanese people at home. As a way toward the solution of the delicate question thus raised, the Governments of the United States and of Japan, by friendly negotiations sought to solve the labor question which was at the bottom of the school agitation. The negotiations were characterized on both sides with admirable frankness and the utmost cordiality, and bore fruit in 1908 in the so-called "Gentleman's Agreement," whereby the Imperial Government of Japan, without reducing its words to so much as a "scrap of paper," undertook to prohibit absolutely the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. This arrangement proved to be entirely satisfactory to the Federal Government, since the number of Japanese laborers in the United States steadily decreased, as none but those who had been in the United States before and were returning to the home of their adoption, were provided by the Imperial Government with the passports which alone entitled them to admission to the United States. Nevertheless, the propaganda of the "inevitable conflict in arms of Japan with the United States for the supremacy of the Pacific," was started in 1908 and has been continued with more or less success ever since. I say "success," not because events are drawing the two nations toward an "inevitable conflict," but because the propaganda has at times unfavorably affected the commerce between the two countries, and has taken hold of the minds of the thinking people, particularly in Japan, not indeed as a practical problem of the future, but as an agitation pregnant with the elements of danger.

In the summer of 1909 the business men of Japan, who until that time had never played any part in international affairs, suddenly became conscious of their responsibilities as the representatives of the industrial and commercial activities of the nation. The bankers, the representatives of shipping interests, the exporters, the importers, and other men prominent in the commercial circles of Japan, including a well known pedagogist, organized themselves into a body, called with the acquiescence of the Imperial Government, the Honorary Commercial Commissioners of Japan. With the active coöperation of the Associated

Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast, they started on a tour through the United States which lasted from August to December, 1909. Their object was to impress upon the people of the United States the fact never questioned in this country, that Japan had no thirst for war and no ambition for territorial expansion, but that the outlet for the product of her industries and the field of useful employment for her surplus population were all that Japan sought in foreign countries.

The selection of Dr. Inazo Nitobe as Japanese lecturer to some of the American universities in 1911, was decided upon by the business men of Japan as a sort of a corollary to the movement which they themselves had undertaken two years before.

By a happy coincidence the munificent gift for an Endowment for International Peace was made by Mr. Andrew Carnegie on December 14, 1910, and the by-laws of the Trustees were adopted on March 9, 1911. When Dr. Nitobe was selected for the purpose in the summer of 1911, the Division of Intercourse and Education was ready to receive him, not indeed as the host in behalf of American universities, but as an organization to which the lecturer from Japan could properly be accredited. The character of the party which had sent the professor to America was at first obscured by the fact that Dr. Nitobe was a Government official, and as such was commanded by his Government to make a tour round the world. The party that stood face to face with the Carnegie Endowment, in the matter of the exchange of professors every alternate year, was not the Japanese Government but the Advisory Council of the Japan Society of New York, which included practically all the representative business interests of Tokio.

In the winter of 1911-1912, while Professor Nitobe was being admired as a living specimen of Japanese culture, and his illuminating addresses on Japan were listened to with profound attention in the universities, in clubs, and in other social centers, his American counterparts were also visiting us. For in that winter we had the visits of Mr. Lindsay Russell, member of the New York bar and the President of the Japan Society of New York; Mr. Hamilton Holt, the managing editor of *The Independent*, New York; President David Starr Jordan, of the Leland Stanford University, and Dr. John Wesley Hill of the Peace Forum of New York, all of whom were fêted and conveyed the message of good fellowship from American citizens to the representatives of all the different branches of our national activity, including the officials of the Government, the educators, the financiers, the merchants and the manufacturers.

My appointment as the special correspondent of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Endowment took effect from January 1, 1912, so that it fell to my lot to arrange for the reception of Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, from June to July, 1912, and of Dr. Hamilton Wright Mabie from December, 1912, to May, 1913.

The results of the remarkable observations made by President Eliot in China and Japan are embodied in his report which was later widely circulated by the Endowment.

Dr. Mabie delivered a series of most illuminating addresses on the American ideals, character and life. He spoke in our universities and colleges, in social and art clubs, in scientific and bankers associations, in chambers of commerce, and charmed those who met him with fascinating post-prandial speeches. Altogether he spent a half year in Japan with his delightful family; and the high standard of scholarship which invariably distinguished his speeches may now be gauged by anybody, as those lectures were published in New York in book form in 1913. Nor were these lectures, excellent as they were, the whole of the contribution he made to the better Japanese understanding of America, her ideals and institutions. He represented in himself what was the highest in American culture, while his charming wife and daughter gave to our women a proper notion of what American womanhood means. As Dr. Mabie in his lectures ably demonstrated, the social and political institutions of America have the unfortunate effect of permitting the vulgar element to assert itself with an unnecessary emphasis which eclipses what is best in American culture. The Division of Intercourse and Education is to be congratulated upon having a long panel from which to select exchange professors to Japan of that high standard of scholarship, ethical value and esthetic taste with which we were privileged to come into contact in the person of Dr. Mabie.

Nor is this all. When the series of his wonderful articles on Japan began to appear in *The Outlook* in 1913, and was continued in 1914, those of the Japanese people who were able to appreciate good English literature wondered whether Dr. Mabie was not an even better exchange professor from Japan to America than from America to Japan. Here was the miracle of the genius of the Japanese people confiding its secrets to an American who had lived less than six months altogether in this country. The severe simplicity of Shintoism, the gorgeous splendor of Buddhist temples, the effect of the vastness of space within limited areas so characteristic of Japanese gardening, have all spoken to Dr. Mabie what they meant. His interpretation of Japan obtained through such contact has just appeared in New York again in the book entitled *Japan Today and Tomorrow*.

Visits to Japan of such a man repeated every alternate year must have a tremendous effect in the molding of the sentiments of the two peoples toward each other.

Dr. Francis G. Peabody, Professor of Theology in Harvard University, visited Japan in 1913, accompanied by his lamented wife and his daughter, and spent the months of April and May among us, giving us opportunity to form some estimate of the ethical culture of America. As American life is

projected on the minds of the peoples of foreign lands, particularly in countries like Japan, the pursuit of material wealth overshadows every other form of its activity. Visits of men like Eliot, Mabie and Peabody are, therefore, of incalculable value in enabling us to form a fairer estimate of American civilization.

Later in the year, Rev. J. T. Sunderland visited this country as Billings Lecturer to Japan, China and India for the year 1913-1914. Dr. Peabody and Dr. Sunderland gave stimulus to the work of the Association Concordia, an association organized in Japan in 1912, for the purpose of the better understanding among men of different creeds and different ethical ideas. What International Conciliation seeks to do among peoples of different nations, the Association Concordia of Japan aims to accomplish among men divided not according to nationalities but according to faith. It has been erroneously represented that this was an association seeking to establish a universal religion among men; its purpose was merely to bring about a better understanding and deeper sympathy among the peoples of different religious faiths, agnostics, and men of all ethical conceptions.

There have been in course of the same year the visits of Mr. George W. Wickersham, Attorney General of the United States in President Taft's administration, and Dr. William R. Shepherd, Professor of History in Columbia University. They traveled only in their private capacities, without official mission of any kind; but as such men necessarily come into contact with their compeers, the effect of their sojourn, however brief, was peculiarly felicitous. For example, it was my privilege to introduce Mr. Wickersham to the Chief Justice of the Court of Cassation, as well as to the Attorney General of the Empire. The visits paid to the Japanese law courts by the distinguished American jurist in company with the highest representatives of the Japanese judiciary, have borne fruit in the very fair description of the Japanese judicial system contributed by Mr. Wickersham to the American press and law journals.

So also it was my good fortune to be able to introduce Dr. Shepherd to a Japanese historian who had made the early contact of the Dutch with the Japanese a subject of special investigation. As Dr. Shepherd's specialty is the effect of the eastern on the western civilization, and *vice versa*, of the occidental on the oriental civilization, the two historians had the delightful experience of comparing notes independently made by them from allied sources.

Turning now to the visits of prominent Japanese to America, the lecture tour of Dr. Inazo Nitobe among the American universities in 1911-1912 under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment has been touched upon.

In March, 1913, the perennial agitation in California directed against the interests of Japanese residents, took the form of two anti-Japanese bills introduced in the California assembly, which prohibited land-ownership to Japanese subjects and restricted the right of lease on which they could hold land. It was

reported at the time, and there is some justification for holding that those measures were in a way tantamount to a virtual confiscation of vested patrimonial interests. The news flashed through the Pacific cable at once aroused the wildest kind of indignation in Japan. No one felt the embarrassment of the situation more keenly than did Dr. Mabie, for this manifestly unfair and discriminatory act against the interests of the Japanese people was about to be deliberately committed by a State Government included in the American commonwealth at the time he was busily engaged day after day preaching to us the higher character of American ideals. If we could follow the secrets of the subconscious human mind, we should undoubtedly find that this circumstance was responsible more than anything else for making Dr. Mabie such a powerful exponent of the principle of federal control over the acts of individual States that unfavorably affect the foreign relations of the United States.

The appeal from the Japanese residents of California was so insistent and the excitement of the public opinion of Japan so great, that the political parties, the Christian organizations and the business interests of Japan, all decided to send representative men to California to counsel moderation and to give comfort to the compatriots who appeared to be made the object of economic persecution. At the same time such men sent from Japan could study the situation on the spot and report upon the causes of the perennial outbursts of anti-Japanese sentiment and point out the way to the possible solution of the difficulty.

With such an object in view, Mr. Soroku Ebara, then a member of the House of Representatives and later of the House of Peers of the Imperial Diet, was selected by the Seiyukai, or the Constitutional party which has been dominant in the domestic politics of Japan for fully a decade. The Kokuminto, or the National party, which though always in the minority is distinguished by the solidarity of its members, dispatched later Ayao Hattori, a member of the House of Representatives, who unfortunately succumbed to an attack of illness in San Francisco as he was about to return to this country at the conclusion of his tour. Mr. Kuniosuke Yamamoto, Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of Tokio, was sent by that organization for the same purpose.

The business men of Tokio who had organized themselves into an association for the purpose of studying American-Japanese relations, sent Dr. Juichi Soyeda, a distinguished political economist who was at one time Vice-Minister of Finance and later the President of the Industrial bank of Japan, accompanied by an expert familiar with the conditions of Japanese emigration. All these parties left for San Francisco in May, 1913, and returned to Japan before the year closed.

In August, 1913, Dr. M. Anesaki, Professor of the History of Religions in the Imperial University at Tokio, left Japan for Cambridge, Massachusetts, to

take the chair then founded in Harvard University on Japanese Literature and Life. The lectures which the Japanese Professor of Harvard gave in the academic year 1913-1914, and is now giving in the same university, include such interesting subjects as Shinto and the tribal system in prehistoric times, the introduction of Buddhism and its establishment in Japan, her age of pomp and splendor, the new religious agitations and struggles, peace and order during the Tokugawa Shogunate, and the progress and problems of the new era of Imperial restoration. Besides the courses of the so-called general lectures, Dr. Anesaki is giving special lectures on the schools of religious and philosophical thought in Japan, and their connection with those of India and China. I may be pardoned for committing an indiscretion, if I venture to quote a paragraph from a private letter lately received by me from the President of Harvard University. Dr. Lowell says:

It has been a great pleasure to have Professor Anesaki among us here. Everybody admires and likes him, and he seems to fall in with our ways so naturally.

Surely no better testimonial is needed to show the thorough adaptability of a Japanese professor or to demonstrate the brotherhood of human culture.

With a similar object to the missions of Mr. Ebara, Mr. Hattori, Mr. Yamamoto and Dr. Soyeda, Rev. Kakichi Tsunashima, Pastor of a Congregational church in Tokio, was sent by the Christians of Japan to the United States, where he traveled extensively in 1914; he was in France at the time of the outbreak of the war in Europe.

The lecture tour undertaken by Professor Shosuke Sato, the Dean of the College of Agriculture of the North Eastern Imperial University of Japan, as the second Exchange Professor from Japan accredited to the Carnegie Endowment, is still fresh in your memory. He left Japan on December 14, 1913, and returned in August, 1914, after giving lectures on Japan's progress in the last fifty years in eighteen American universities and a few other institutions of learning. It would be idle to attempt to make an estimate in this report of the effect which his lectures produced in America; but there can be no question that his high scholarship, coupled with his charming personality, abundantly justified his selection as an exchange professor.

In February, 1914, I was requested by Mr. Naoichi Masaoka to contribute an article to a book he was about to publish with a view to showing the sentiment of the leaders of public opinion in this country toward America. The shortness of the time allowed for the preparation of the article, taken with the fact that this invitation came at a time when my professional duties were particularly onerous, prevented me from acceding to his request. The contributors, however, were lacking neither in number nor in the sterling worth of their character.

Thus a significant book entitled *Japan to America*, being a "symposium of papers by political leaders and representative citizens of Japan on conditions in Japan and on the relations between Japan and the United States," edited by Mr. Naoichi Masaoka, appeared in New York in November, 1914, with an introduction by Mr. Lindsay Russell, President of the Japan Society.

It remains to add to the survey of the recent international movements of Japan the fact that Dr. Jinzo Naruse, President of the Women's University of Tokio, made a tour of America and Europe in 1912-1913, with a view to enlist the sympathies, and if possible the coöperation, of the leaders of thought in the countries of occidental civilization in the work of the Association Concordia of Japan. He found a large body of sympathizers both in America and in Great Britain, who in consequence of his visits have organized a British Association Concordia and an American Association Concordia.

The object of the visit of Rev. J. T. Sunderland to Japan, China and India, was to arrange for the meetings and receptions of the World's Congress of Religions, the original itinerary of which was to commence on November 1, 1914, when the American participants were to sail from Boston, and to terminate with the Congress meetings to be held at San Francisco, in April, 1915. Owing to the war in Europe, the proposed meetings, to commence at London and proceed eastward through Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cairo, etc., as far as Tokio and San Francisco, have been postponed *sine die*.

President Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago, was also a visitor to Japan in 1914. While his sojourn in Japan was brief, the members of the Association Concordia had an opportunity to find in him a warm sympathizer of their movement.

These isolated facts which I have attempted to enumerate in a more or less coöordinated form, are but the reminder of the fact that the welding of the East and the West is going on with an acceleration hitherto unknown. The world may not become homogeneous; but it will be wrought into a mass of which the constituent elements are susceptible of appreciation and sympathy toward one another. The process of internationalization is more profound than can be touched upon by the adjustment of mere political or economic problems between States.

A description of the internationalizing tendencies by which Japan has been affected would not be complete without paying tribute to the memory of two men we have recently lost. Rev. D. Crosby Greene, D.D., LL.D., who had devoted more than forty years of his life to the cultivation of deeper sympathies between the peoples of Japan and of occidental civilization, died in the autumn of 1913. Henry Willard Denison, legal adviser to the Government of Japan and a member of the International Court of Arbitration of The Hague, died in the summer of 1914. Mr. Denison came to Japan from Washington, D. C.,

in a junior capacity attached to the United States consulate at Yokohama, at a time when vestiges of feudalism were still discernible in the customs and practices of official Japan. Upon the change of administration in Washington, he resigned his official position and established himself in the practice of the law at Yokohama. As consular jurisdiction was then in full swing, he was peculiarly well qualified to practice before consular courts. Away back in the seventies the Japanese Government took him into its service, and found in him a public servant of sterling value and unfaltering loyalty. While he retained his American citizenship to the end, it was said of him that in patriotism for Japan he was second to none of the great contemporaneous statesmen of this country.

I have now traced the progress of those events in Japan in recent years, which in the words of my colleague of Berlin, Professor Paszkowski, may be termed "international progress." The criticism which would naturally be raised against the use of this happy phrase in connection with such events, would be that I am using the word "international" as if it were synonymous with the expression, "Americo-Japanese." The fact is that from the sociological point of view, as distinguished from the political aspect, the international relations of Japan are in no case more important than those with the United States. Today Japan is at war with Germany; but who talks of the future relations of this Empire with Germany? It has been reported in the press that Germans only hate Britishers, while they despise Japanese. With calm indifference, we are accepting Teutonic wrath, and no one cares whether Germans hate or love us. This supreme indifference is engendered by the fact that the Germans, once dislodged from their stronghold at Kiao-chau, are nowhere near us. The whole continent of Asia, with nearly one-half of Europe added, lies between them and us. Not so with the Americans. They are our neighbors, for means of rapid and safe transportation have banished from our minds the sense of distance. One goes to bed comfortably in a Pullman car in Washington, to wake up the next morning in New York or Boston. There is that same sense of comfort and security when a solitary Japanese lady, unaccustomed to the risks and hardships of voyage, walks up a gang-plank to a Pacific liner moored at the customs docks at Yokohama and proceeds on a journey to join her husband in San Francisco or New York.

The political relations of Japan with Great Britain are very important, for the Anglo-Japanese alliance has formed the corner-stone of Japan's diplomacy during the last twelve years. Nevertheless there is no exchange of professorships between England and Japan. Nor is there a chair of Japanese literature, art or religion in Cambridge or Oxford filled by a Japanese professor.

In the series of letters addressed by me to the acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education shortly after my appointment as Special Correspondent from January, 1912, I have repeatedly suggested that the 180th

degree east or west of Greenwich, where a passenger gained or lost a day according as he traveled eastward or westward, was the meeting point of the eastern and western movements of the human races. Your forebears sailing westward from Europe, established themselves on the shores of the Atlantic, crossed the Alleghanies, followed the valleys of the Mississippi, traversed the immense prairies of the Middle West, climbed the Rocky Mountains and founded flourishing commonwealths on the shores of the Pacific. Our forebears, wherever may be the land of their origin, moved eastward, subjugating tribes found on their way until the Pacific Ocean rolled before them.

The eastern and the western civilizations embodied in the eastward and westward movements of human races have now met. The so-called Japanese problem of California is but one phase of the social evolution to which this contact of the East and the West has given rise. Today in the Hawaiian Islands the intermingling of the East and the West is taking place without excitement or comment of any kind.

The donor of the Carnegie Endowment fund has requested you to administer the same for the purpose of "hastening the abolition of international war," and to "help man in his glorious ascent onward and upward." Your relations with Europe are now a hundredfold more important than your relations with Japan; but in your westward relations the secret of your future history lies. Mr. Roosevelt with prophetic vision has declared that the age of the Atlantic is drawing toward its close, and the age of the Pacific is dawning upon the history of mankind.

The internationalism which is deeper than the fraternization of different political units of affiliated races is the real internationalism.

In the wise adjustment of the sociological problems arising out of the contact of the two peoples inhabiting the opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean, rests in large measure the happiness and welfare of human races, for those peoples represent the vanguard of great human movements which were started in opposite direction in prehistoric times.

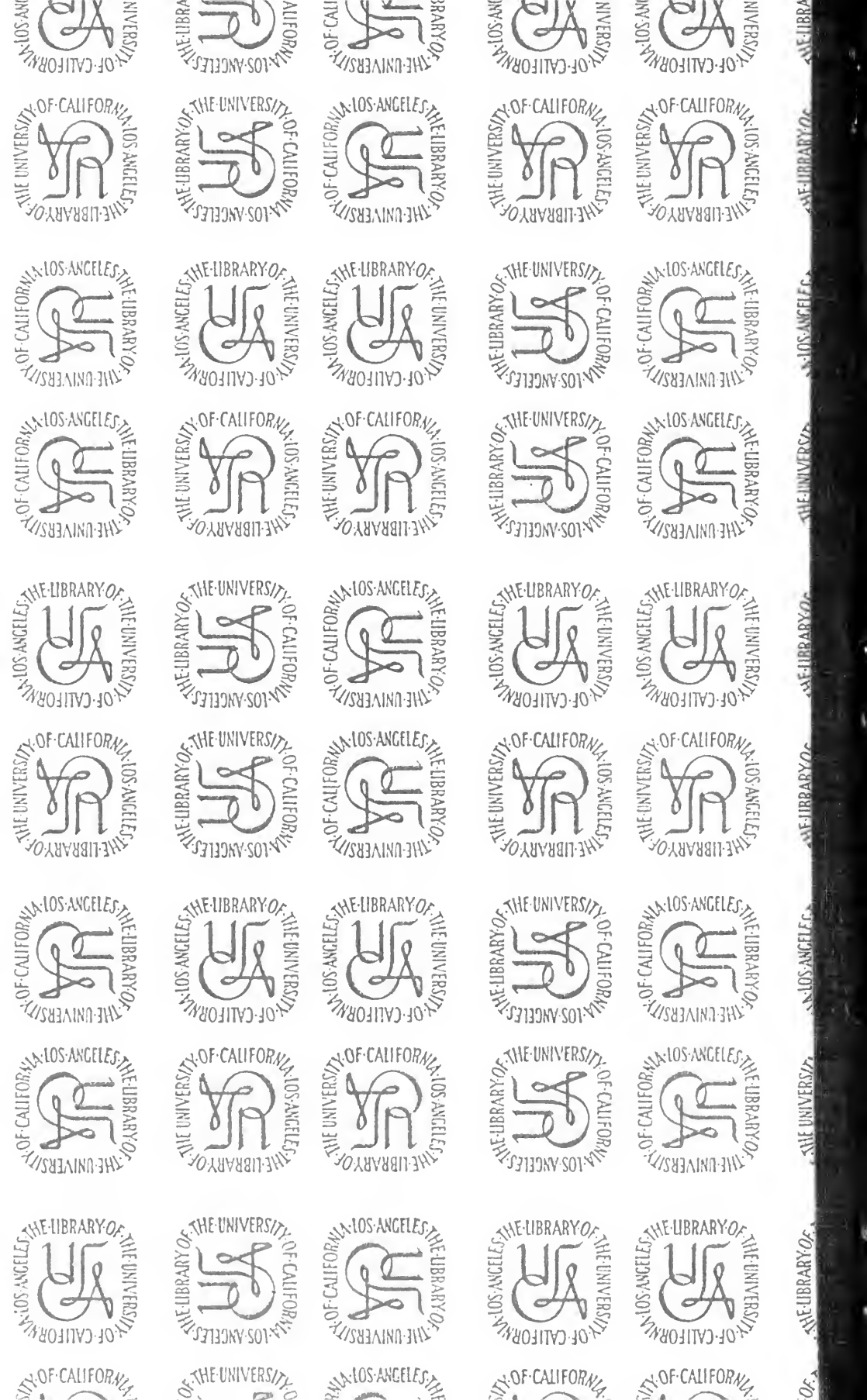
Respectfully submitted,

T. MIYAOKA

TOKIO, *February 5, 1915.*

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